

Message Text

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ORIGIN NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 R

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DRAFTED BY S/S:PSBRIDGES

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 241937 TOSEC 280028

NODIS

FOLLOWING REPEAT PEKING 1963 ACTION SECSTATE 29 SEP 76

QUOTE

S E C R E T PEKING 1963

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RECOMMEND DEPARTMENT PASS HONG KONG, MOSCOW, TAIPEI AND TOKYO

E.O.11652: XGDS-3

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, CH, US, OVIP (SCHLESINGER, JAMES)

REFS: A) PEKING 1776 B) PEKING 1948

1. BEGIN INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY. FORMER DEFENSE SECRETARY SCHLESINGER AND FOUR MEMBERS OF HIS DELEGATION (PERLE, WHITSON, WEST AND BENOIT) MET FOR TWO HOURS AND FORTY MINUTES ON THE AFTERNOON OF SEPTEMBER 28 WITH PRC PERMIER AND PARTY FIRST VICE CHAIRMAN HUA KUO-FENG. THE CHINESE SIDE ALSO INCLUDED FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO KUAN-HUA, MFA AMERICAN AND OCEANIAN DEPARTMENT DIRECTOR LIN PING, AND NANCY TANG (INTERPRETER). ACCORDING TO AN ORAL BRIEFING FROM NOTES BY ONE DELEGATION MEMBER (SUPPLEMENTED BY OBSERVATIONS FROM SCHLESINGER AND OTHERS), THE SESSION WAS DOMINATED BY AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS

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ON GLOBAL STRATEGY. FOLLOWING IN THE MAIN FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO'S

STANDARD BRIEF (REF A), HUA SCORED SOVIET EXPANSIONISM, CONDEMNED THE "MUNICH MENTALITY," AND CALLED FOR A "POOLING OF EFFORTS" TO CONTAIN MOSCOW. THIS VIEW, HUA ADDED, HAD BEEN COMMUNICATED BY THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP TO PRESIDENT NIXON AND SECRETARY KISSINGER. HUA INDICATED CHINESE SATISFACTION AT PRESIDENT FORD'S DROPPING OF THE WORD "DETENTE"; HE CITED APPROVINGLY THE POLICIES EXEMPLIFIED AND PROMOTED BY THE WEST GERMAN CDU, FRENCH CHIEF OF STAFF MERY, THE "PRESENT GOVERNMENTS" OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND, THE BRITISH OPPOSITION LEADER THATCHER; BUT HE SCATHINGLY DENOUNCED MIKI-MIYAZAWA POLICIES TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION. HUA DID NOT RAISE SINO-US BILATERAL RELATIONS, NEVER MENTIONED TAIWAN, AND EVIDENCED NO CURIOSITY ABOUT THE US PRESIDENTIAL

ELECTION. NO LIGHT WHATSOEVER WAS SHED ON THE PRC LEADERSHIP OR HUA'S ROLE WITHIN IT, THOUGH SCHLESINGER AND OTHERS WERE IMPRESSED BY HUA'S AURA OF COMMAND AND APPARENT INTELLIGENCE. END INTRODUCTION AND SUMMARY.

2. THE INVITATION. HUA OPENED THE SESSION BY REVIEWING THE BACKGROUND OF THE CHINESE INVITATION TO DR. SCHLESINGER. THE NEW SINO-US RELATIONSHIP HAD BECOME POSSIBLE THROUGH THE "WISE DECISION OF CHAIRMAN MAO"; PRESIDENT NIXON, HUA ADDED, HAD "ALSO MADE HIS CONTRIBUTION." IN THE CONTEXT OF A NEW RELATIONSHIP EVOLVING "BY TWISTS AND TURNS," CHAIRMAN MAO HAD PERSONALLY DIRECTED IN 1974 THAT THEN-DEFENSE SECRETARY SCHLESINGER BE INVITED TO VISIT CHINA. (SCHLESINGER SAYS THAT HE FIRST LEARNED OF THIS INVITATION FROM PRCLO CHIEF HUANG CHEN JUST BEFORE DEPARTING FOR CHINA. THROUGHOUT HIS TRIP CHINESE OFFICIALS ALLUDED OFTEN TO "CHAIRMAN MAO'S INVITATION.") WHEN SCHLESINGER LEFT OFFICE IN 1975, CHAIRMAN MAO INDICATED THAT THE INVITATION SHOULD REMAIN OPEN.

3. COOPERATION AGAINST THE SOVIET UNION. HUA EMPHASIZED THE INSATIABLE EXPANSIONIST APPETITE OF THE SOVIET UNION NOW MORE GREEDY THAN THE OLD TSARISM WITHOUT CALLING FOR A FORMAL PACT OR SYSTEMATIC COOPERATION AMONG COUNTRIES OPPOSED TO SOVIET HEGEMONY, HUA IMPLICITLY ARGUED FOR AN ANTI-SOVIET TNETNTE INCLUDING THE UNITED STATES -- A "POOLING OF OUR EFFORTS TOGETHER AGAINST THE POLAR BEAR." WITH THIS
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IN MIND:

--THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP HAD PROPOSED TO PRESIDENT NIXON "A LINE" RUNNING THROUGH CHINA, JAPAN, PAKISTAN, IRAN, THE MIDDLE EAST, THE THIRD WORLD, WESTERN EUROPE AND THE UNITED STATES "TO RESIST SOVIET EXPANSIONISM."

--CHAIRMAN MAO HAD "TRIED TO PERSUADE DR. KISSINGER TO STAY

IN JAPAN" AND "TO WORK WITH JAPAN." (HUA DID NOT SPECIFY THE TIME FRAME, BUT DELEGATION MEMBERS INFERRED THAT HE MEANT 1973.) WITH RESPECT TO JAPAN, HUA CONCLUDED, RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES CAME FIRST AND WITH CHINA SECOND.

--CHINESE LEADERS HAD "URGED" SECRETARY KISSINGER TO "HELP" PAKISTAN "WHEN HE WAS HERE" -- BUT "HIS RECENT TRIP INDICATES THAT HE WAS UNSUCCESSFUL."

--THE CHINESE HAD "URGED" THE UNITED STATES "TO USE BOTH HANDS" IN THE MIDDLE EAST, BZO DEVELOP RELATIONS WITH ARAB COUNTRIES WHILE MAINTAINING ITS TIES WITH ISREAL. HUA EMPHASIZED THAT THE CHINESE BELIEVED "COMPLETE" SUPPORT OF ISRAEL WOULD NOT BE IN AMERICAN INTERESTS.

THOUGH ALL OF THESE EVENTS WERE DESCRIBED IN THE PAST TENSE, HUA LEFT THE IMPRESSION THAT CHINESE THINKING HAS NOT ALTERED, THAT THIS SORT OF INFORMAL ENTENTE TO CONTAIN SOVIET EXPANSIONISM IS THE CORRECT AND ONLY VIABLE INTERNATIONAL STRATEGY.

4. STATE OF THE WORLD. HUA DELIVERED A TOUR D'HORIZON FOCUSING ON THE STATE OF PLAY IN THE CONTEMPORARY ANTI-SOVIET STRUGGLE; HUA ADHERED CLOSELY TO FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO'S STANDARD BRIEF AND DIFFERED FROM PUBLIC CHINESE POSITIONS ONLY IN THE SOMETIMES ACIDUOUSLY CANDID DISCUSSION OF WORLD PERSONALITIES.

5. HUA DERIDED THE "SONNENFELDT DOCTRINE," CRITICIZE THE HELSINKI ACCORDS AND CONFERENCE ON SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE AS CREATING THE "FALSE IMPRESSION" THAT THERE EXISTS EUROPEAN SECURITY, AND CONDEMNED ALL AS EVIDENCE OF "MUNICH THINKING" -- A CAPITULATION TO THE SOVIET UNION WHICH IS "OUT TO FINLANDIZE" EUROPE. (TO THIS, DR. SCHLESINGER
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SUGGESTED THAT "POLANDIZE" MIGHT BE A MORE ACCURATE CHARACTERIZATION OF SOVIET INTENTIONS.) JUST AS IT WAS IMPORTANT TO CRITICIZE AND EXPOSE THE "MUNICH MENTALITY," SO THE WESTERN EUROPEAN NATIONS SHOULD NOT BE "COMPLETELY RELIANT" ON THE US, FOR THIS WOULD SURELY ERODE THEIR SELF-CONFIDENCE.

6. HUA SPOKE CONTEMPTUOUSLY OF JAPANESE PRIME MINISTER MIKI'S POLICIES AND OBSERVED ACIDLY THAT FORMER FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA "WOULD HAVE BEEN ACCUSED OF SURRENDER HAD HE BEEN A CHINESE LEADER." HUA MADE CLEAR THAT HE REFERRED TO THE MIKI-MIYAZAWA STANCE ON THE ANTI-HEGEMONY CLAUSE SPECIFICALLY AND TO JAPANESE POLICIES VIS-A-VIS THE SOVIET UNION MORE GENERALLY. ASKED BY DR. SCHLESINGER IF MIYAZAWA'S TOUR OF THE NORTHERN ISLANDS AREA DID NOT CONSTITUTE A HARDENED -- AND THEREFORE IMPROVED -- JAPANESE POSTURE, HUA REPLIED IN

THE NEGATIVE, TERMING THE INSPECTION "ONLY A SHOW." WITHOUT ELABORATING, HUA INDICATED THAT THE CHINESE FAVOR "DEVELOPMENT" OF THE JAPANESE SELF-DEFENSE FORCE.

7. ELSEWHERE HUA SAW ENCOURAGING GLOBAL TRENDS:

--PRESIDENT FORD PUBLICLY DROPPED THE WORD "DETENTE" FROM HIS VOCABULARY.

--SOVIET PLUMPING FOR AN AISAN COLLECTIVE SECURITY SYSTEM HAD HAD "NO EFFECT." MOREOVER, HUA EXTOLLED "THE PRESENT GOVERNMENTS" OF AUSTRALIA AND NEW ZEALAND FOR REMAINING "VIGILANT" AGAINST THE SOVIET THREAT.

-IN WEST GERMANY, OSTPOLITIK HAD GRADUALLY "FALLEN APART." HUA PRAISE THE CDU FOR ITS "LUCID" STANCE ON THE QUESTION OF RELATIONS WITH MOSCOW.

-IN THE UNITED KINGDOM, CONSERVATIVE PARTY LEADER THATCHER HAD "PUT THE MATTER (OF POLICY TOWARD THE SOVIETS) FORWARD VERY ACUTELY."

--FRENCH CHIEF OF STAFF MERY HAD POINTED OUT DURING HIS JUNE VISIT TO CHINA THAT THE FRENCH DEFENSE EFFORT WAS INCREASING.

8. CHINESE SELF-RELIANCE AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. HUA DELIVERED
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AN IMPASSIONED DEFENSE OF CHINESE SELF-RELIANCE ALONG FAMILIAR LINES: IMPERIALISTS HAD INFLICTED OPIUM UPON CHINA, CHINA WAS ALL-TOO-ACCURATELY CHARACTERIZED AS THE "SICK MAN OF ASIA," AND CHINESE SELF-CONFIDENCE WAS CONSEQUENTLY IMPAIRED. BUT FOLLOWING 27 YEARS OF "EARTHSHAKING CHANGES," THE CHINESE PEOPLE HAD SHED THEIR INFERIORITY COMPLEX AND BEGUN TO BELIEVE THAT THEY COULD ACHIEVE WHAT FOREIGN COUNTRIES HAD. YET CHINESE SELF-CONFIDENCE WAS STILL INCOMPLETE EVEN TODAY. FOR THIS REASON, AND BECAUSE THE POST-LIBERATION "YOUNGER GENERATION" COULD NOT WHOLLY COMPREHEND THE SITUATION EXISTING BEFORE 1949, THE CHINESE LEADERSHIP ATTACHED A HIGH PRIORITY TO EDUCATING THE MASSES CONSTANTLY IN THE MEANING OF "SELF-RELIANCE." THE CHINESE, HUA SAID, ARE STRIVING "TO BUILD A MODERN CHINA BY THE END OF THE CENTURY." (DELEGATION MEMBERS AGREE THAT HUA DID NOT ADD THE WORD "SOCIALIST" HERE BEFORE CHINA AS IN THE STANDARD FORMULATION.) IN SO DOING, THE FOCAL POINT OF DEVELOPMENT WOULD BE THE SMALL TOWNS IN THE CHINESE INTERIOR, NOT THE DEVELOPED URBAN CENTERS.

9. IMPRESSIONS OF HUA. DR. SCHLESINGER AND HIS DELEGATION
WERE FAVORABLY IMPRESSED BY HUA. EXPECTING A RATHER

UNSOPHISTICATED AND TENATIVE APPARATCHIK UNSCHOOLED IN THE INTRICACIES OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, THEY DETECTED INTELLIGENCE, CONFIDENCE, AND AN AURA OF LEADERSHIP. CHINESE OFFICIALS PRESENT TREATED HUA WITH DEFERENCE AND RESPECT (THE PRECEDING DAY, DR. SCHLESINGER OBSERVED, SOME OF THE SAME OFFICIALS HAD REGARDED YEH CHIEN-YING WITH "VENERATION") (REF B). HUA HAD MASTERED HIS BRIEF, REFERRING RARELY TO THE TEXT BEFORE HIM BUT LOOKING TO FOREIGN MINISTER CHIAO FOR OCCASIONAL GUIDANCE WHEN REQUIRED TO ADDRESS UNANTICIPATED QUESTIONS.

10. HUA OFFERED NO COMMENT ON THE CHINESE INTERNAL SCENE, HIS OWN POSITION WITHIN THE LEADERSHIP, OR CHINESE PLANS FOR THE FORTHCOMING NATIONAL DAY.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 JAN 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TOSEC, FOREIGN RELATIONS, CAT-C, MINISTERIAL VISITS, MEETING REPORTS, DIPLOMATIC DISCUSSIONS
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 29 SEP 1976
Decaption Date: 28 MAY 2004
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: CunninFX
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1976STATE241937
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: PSBRIDGES
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: X3
Errors: N/A
Film Number: N760007-0417
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 2
Legacy Key: link1976/newtext/t1976096/aaaaaeyv.tel
Line Count: 239
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Office: ORIGIN NODS
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 5
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: NODIS
Reference: 76 PEKING 1776, 76 PEKING 1948
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: CunninFX
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 19 APR 2004
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <19 APR 2004 by CollinP0>; APPROVED <20 AUG 2004 by CunninFX>
Review Markings:

Margaret P. Grafeld
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
04 MAY 2006

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: LOCK1
Status: NATIVE
Subject: SCHLESINGER'S TALKS IN PEKING
TAGS: PFOR, PINT, OVIP, CH, US, UR, (SCHLESINGER, JAMES)
To: SECRETARY
Type: TE
Markings: Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 04 MAY 2006